

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be
afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the
praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São
Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was neces-
sary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a pro-
fessional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and
the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned
were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed
to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-
river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000
souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one
of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of
the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman
(who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant,
with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the cap-
tain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the
worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to
add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The
wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his right-
ful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they
would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got
together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the
Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these
men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes.
The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed,
proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas,
who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They
reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months
earlier..."

174
161
[197] The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr.,
the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupi. To
my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupi
Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that
stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern
part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

101 [98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
● 50/ does not rule in any way against their identification with the
174 Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caí, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of
[197] gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called caatingas or matos secos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

101 [98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
"Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airoa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (*ibid.* [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapéz" of Beímo Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekif-nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must

[192] 171 confess that I never saw the chekif-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupeima) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171 Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
227 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

227 To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
● 501 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
 501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass
 the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
 171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
 501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes
 (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den
 Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not
 from the Kayapó (*ibid.*, 393). The Chavante, who do not have
 canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described
 by Szaflka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
 [192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by
 Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,'
 and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.' " In any case, it is
 not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for
 navigation.

787 As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambf's
 "dream." The people of Tampitaua often say that they dreamed
 776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambf
 226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an
 abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62]
 which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
 in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to cer-
 [535] tain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them.
 All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
 [142] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fish-
 ing. Manggambf said that "all" the men should go and fetch the
 fish he had dreamed of. What Tampitaua regards as "all" the men
 did go. They were Manggambf himself and eight companions.
 When they returned, Manggambf held a large basket full of tiny
 fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the
 ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated
 [in the dance] anchinga, chankuf [a bird], and irangchf [a fish].
 [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of sub-
 sistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing
 tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described.
 The inhabitants of Tampitaua do not lead the amphibian life of
 those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators
par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the most striking changes has to do with the relations of the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquired from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and

177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
 [50] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians**) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
 756 society were the shamans or *pançes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pançe*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pançes*. "The *pançes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
 [771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
 [797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

* Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

/409 cont. /

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the

• [50] end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the

[225] lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even pirarucús, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26)



Ill. 268.

Turtle cage,

225 shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

Plate 6.



Fig. 11. Tapirapé children playing on the beach at Pôrto Velho.

- 592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

- 291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women, 301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men [302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye. 304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca [386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

- [501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men 482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

- 286 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on 482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.
- 323 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is 482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised 531 geometrical decorations.
- 531 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.
- 285 Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers [53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

Charles Wagley

115 He was always pleased when
 123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
 [526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each op-
 ponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts
 to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was
 brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valen-
 tim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
 [186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior"
 cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own
 way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
 123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
 [101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had
 not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Cham-
 pukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
 122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
 123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
 881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of
 Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
 [171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
 [301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
 [302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress
 of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately,
 and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the
 youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
 122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
 123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-
 like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any
 kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some
 of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of
 course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone
 was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
 • [501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
 [481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé
 do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was
 the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor
 of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain,
 Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and
 a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next